UNITED
NATIONS

S

Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3188
26 March 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 26 March 1993, at 4.55 p.m.

President:	Mr. O'BRIEN	(New Zealand)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARDSON
	United States of America	Ms. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. BIVERO

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

93-85545 0152V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/25354 and Add.1 and 2)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Somalia in which she requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Hassan (Somalia) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of paragraphs 18 and 19 of resolution 794 (1992), contained in document S/25354 and addenda 1 and 2.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25472, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. I should like to draw attention to the following revision to the draft resolution in its provisional form: at the end of paragraph 2 insert "representative" between "other" and "groups".

I should also like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/24976 and S/25126, letters dated 17 December 1992 and 19 January 1993, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/24992 and S/25168, report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of paragraphs 18 and 19 of resolution 794 (1992) and progress report of the Secretary-General, respectively; S/25072, letter dated 7 January 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/25163, letter dated 25 January 1993 from the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/25312, letter dated 18 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, which is before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): I wish warmly to congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Council for this month. You have demonstrated effectiveness and rare personal skills in conducting our work. May I also pay my sincere tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi of Morocco, for the exemplary manner in which he executed his responsibilities last month.

We wish to record our sincere appreciation for the vision and determination demonstrated by the Secretary-General in elaborating bold and far-reaching measures, as contained in his report (S/25354) of 3 March, to return Somalia to being a safe and functioning entity. Equally, we wish to express our deep gratitude to the more than 20 countries that, through a United States initiative, mounted the decisive humanitarian intervention to confront widespread insecurity, lawlessness and extortion, and to enable the humanitarian agencies to reach and care for the dying, starving and malnourished.

This unprecedented humanitarian intervention underscored the international community's response to Somalia's long agony, when inadequate and protracted multinational measures failed to make any significant impact on the ever-deepening anarchy and ignominious deprivation. Thanks to the impressive coordination of military and civilian efforts, remarkable results have been achieved within a short period.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

As indicated earlier, my delegation found the Secretary-General's report most informative and clarifying. We believe the draft resolution we are about to adopt sufficiently reflects the mandate, as well as the resources, desired by the Secretary-General to fulfil his responsibilities. Particularly noteworthy is the attention given to matters of transition and coordination between the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) and the expanded United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), the continuing need to realise full and effective disarmament and pacification, to refocus our priorities from purely humanitarian aid to rebuilding and reconstruction, and to help the Somali people achieve political governance. The emphasis devoted to questions of de-mining, the return of refugees and the integration of Somali civil society in nation-building highlights a complex picture of what has to be done to bring Somalia to being a country.

Somalia is in many ways a modern anomaly, a land with no effective mechanism for governance. No operational institutions of any kind exist - financial institutions, government offices, schools, hospitals, police, military or political organs of government. It is in key respects a non-State. The civil strife dealt a deadly blow to the long history and tradition of a single race sharing the same land, customs, foods, language and religion. However, Somalia does offer positive encouragement. There are few long-standing irreconcilable ideological differences, or obvious widespread discrepancies in living standards. Clearly, in Somalia we have witnessed a political and social collapse manifested in human and material destruction. But the underlying perception remains, the sense of "nationhood". Perhaps our role in Somalia is at bottom to provide a secure basis for its re-emergence institutionally.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

Undoubtedly, the Somalis who have been spared the ravages of war, of death and starvation are profoundly thankful for the efforts of the international community. They anxiously anticipate a return to normality, to peace and personal safety, which will lead to a genuine re-emergence of political expression and participation. Perhaps Ambassador Oakley summed up well the yearnings of the o-dinary Somali: "From now on the people of Somalia will have the power, and that power will not come from the barrel of the gun". We believe this can be achieved.

In the final analysis, reconstructing Somalia will entail many critical choices which will determine its political, economic and social destiny. This has to be done by the Somalis themselves - every one of them. The vital question we face is the manner in which this can best be achieved. It is a matter of concern, not only to the Somalis themselves, but to the world community, given the sensitivity of the issue.

My delegation remains optimistic that available skilled and trained Somali manpower could be lured to participate in the reconstruction of their shattered country. Thousands of such professionally qualified people, who had been forced to flee the country, are everywhere waiting for an opportunity to return. An atmosphere of welcome, a concerted effort to employ their skills, must pervade the operations of the United Nations and international agencies. We hope a mechanism can be created for the utilization of such diverse talents towards better attainment of the inseparable national and international goals.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Djibouti for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. BARBOSA (Cape Verde) (interpretation from French): By agreeing to the important proposals of His Excellency Mr. Boutos Boutros Ghali, Secretary-General of our Organization, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, has authorized the Secretary-General and certain States Members to establish as soon as possible the necessary secure environmment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia. This decision, in our view, is a turning-point and without a doubt a new point of departure as regards involvement of the international community in that country.

Cape Verde, which in the Council has always advocated a vigorous involvement of the international community in Somalia, supported without hestitation the proposals of the Secretary-General contained in the letters he addressed to the Security Council in November of 1992, and that at a time when many sectors of international public opinion still harboured considerable doubts as to the legitimacy of the step the United Nations had decided to take.

Indeed, the members of the Council will recall that in the statement I made on behalf of my delegation when the historic resolution 794 (1992) was adopted, I said the following:

> "What is occurring in Somalia is a threat to the very existence of Somali society; but at the same time it represents one of the most serious challenges to the full establishment of a new international order on Earth within which the United Nations has a role of capital importance to play.
>
> "Moreover, we have no doubt that the national conflict has a second dimension - an international dimension - in view of the fact that, because of its repercussions on neighbouring States, it is imperilling the stability and security of the whole region.

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

"My country therefore fully concurs with the assessment of the Secretary-General - whose efforts we greatly value - that the situation in Somalia has become intolerable, for existing circumstances do not permit the effective execution of the peace-keeping operation, necessitating forceful action on the part of the international community to restore order, disarm the warmongers and ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the population. Such an operation will be a very important and urgently needed step towards solving the Somali problem, if we wish to assist in creating a favourable climate in which the Somali people will be able to begin to resolve its political problems and repair the country's economy." (3145th meeting, p. 19-20)

The events that have taken place since the adoption of resolution 794 (1992), and especially since the arrival in Somalia of forces of the United States of America, are well known to all, and the important developments that have taken place have not only proven the wisdom of our decison but also put us on the road that will no doubt lead us, with perseverance and greater determination, to the achievement of the United Nations objectives in Somalia, especially the establishment of peace, security, national reconciliation democracy, respect for human rights and national reconstruction.

In this context, we should welcome the fact that the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), despite certain persistent difficulties, has succeeded in establishing, in the areas of Somalia where it has been deployed, propitious conditions for the provision of humanitarian assistance, even in most destitute areas; and this has not only allowed us to reduce considerably the number of deaths but also had quite positive effects on the health and nutritional situation of the population.

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

The process of national reconstruction, thanks to the efforts of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative, has made giant strides, and we are on the verge of witnessing - perhaps even today - the approval by the Conference on National Reconciliation of all the documents governing the process of national reconciliation.

We also feel it important to emphasize that the role of civilian society, both in rebuilding the life of the country and in the political arena, has continued to grow, thanks to the new climate. This can be seen in the important role played in the above-mentioned process by religious and women's groups, representatives of civilian organizations and non-governmental organizations, elders, traditional leaders and the country's outstanding personalities.

We also feel it important to note that an important conference on humanitarian assistance has been held and that the key ideas on clearing hundreds of thousands of mines scattered indiscriminately throughout Somali territory have already been identified by the Secretary-General.

In brief, we can state that, in spite of the great damage done to Somali society because of a long period of anarchy, confrontation and chaos, the country is now determined to rise from the tragic situation into which it was plunged.

We thus believe it is timely to pay tribute once again to the Secretary-General for his decisive contribution to the redefinition of the United Nations strategy for approaching the Somali conflict.

We also value most highly the actions of the countries participating in UNITAF, in particular the United States of America, for their contribution, without which this operation would have been impossible to carry out.

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

The new stage we are now entering, despite the successful actions of UNITAF, presents even more complex challenges, and the work yet to be done is of a more delicate nature. In fact, we have reached a critical point in the process of putting an end to the Somali conflict, a point at which greater perseverance, determination and creativity will be required of all members of the international community and in particular Members of the United Nations.

In this light, we welcome and support most earnestly the comprehensive and excellent report submitted to us by the Secretary-General, which, in our view, deals in exemplary fashion with the main questions relating to the process of peace, reconciliation and reconstruction in Somalia, particularly those of disarmament, humanitarian assistance, the restoration of national institutions, the unity of the country, the resolution of problems of refugees and displaced persons and mine-clearing.

The draft resolution was well debated in the Security Council and obviously deserves the strong support of the Cape Verde delegation, which will therefore vote in favour of it.

Now, when we are in the process of establishing the expanded United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), we think it fitting to highlight the important contribution of UNOSOM I in the peace process in Somalia at a time full of uncertainty and difficulties - and this was in spite of the limitations of its mandate and the reduced means available to it.

The contribution of the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States and the Non-Aligned Movement, especially in the area of national reconciliation, has also been invaluable.

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

Finally, we hail all the praiseworthy and courageous efforts of United Nations bodies, non-governmental organisations and individuals taking part in the comprehensive process of promoting a lasting peace in Somalia.

Mr. SKOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): My delegation would like, first of all, to congratulate the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his wise and effective handling of the tragic question of Somalia since assuming his post. We appreciate his rational analysis of the development of the Somali tragedy and the lucidity and clarity of the recommendations contained in his latest report (S/25354), dated 3 March 1993.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

Over the past year, the international community has followed with frustration and anguish the torment of the Somali people, exposed to the rigours of hunger and gradually being decimated while political factions waged merciless war and marauding bands sowed terror, pillaged and prevented humanitarian aid from reaching the starving population. The impact of the horrifying images has mobilized international solidarity to put an end to the chaos and anarchy.

The Security Council's adoption under Chapter VII of the historic resolution 794 (1992) on 3 December 1992 was a firm and appropriate response to a situation unprecedented in the annals of the United Nations. In this connection, we wish to express our gratitude to the United States of America for its role in helping this resolution to materialize and making possible its immediate implementation.

We were in full agreement with the Secretary-General when he deemed it wise and vital to review the underlying basis for United Nations action in Somalia with a view to adapting that basis to this exceptional situation, in which an unbreakable link has been established between humanitarian assistance and security. There can be no doubt today that the Unified Task Force, despite its relatively limited deployment in the field, has had a positive and decisive influence with respect to peacemaking in the country and the establishment of conditions that have returned hope to thousands of suffering Somalis. In addition to its mission of peace, this police operation has contributed to a great extent to charting the course for a political solution to the Somali crisis and has helped the Secretary-General and his Special Representatives in their efforts to achieve a political normalization of the situation.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

The Secretary-General's actions towards reconciliation and national unity in Somalia have indeed had positive effects. Thus, last January in Addis Ababa, for the first time the parties to the conflict sat around the same table and signed three important agreements, despite the often difficult and laborious nature of their negotiations. The progress achieved at this meeting made it possible to prepare the Conference on National Reconciliation that began on 15 March and took a great step forward in its turn towards national conciliation on substantive questions affecting the future and very existence of the country. We ardently hope that the agreements will be signed as soon as possible and that the signatories will scrupulously respect their commitments.

Despite all these positive developments, the improvement noted in the field remains relative and is not irreversible, as mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report. The problem of security has not been fully resolved and disarmament is far from being complete. In other words, the mission which falls to the expanded United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) will have to face the present and future requirements of the situation.

Indeed, in addition to the tasks entrusted to the Unified Task Force, UNOSOM II will be called upon to undertake the enormous task of rebuilding the country, restoring its political institutions and renewing its economy. This operation, the first of its kind ever undertaken by the United Nations, clearly illustrated the important role which this Organization, henceforth the very embodiment of international solidarity, can play in crises of this kind.

It is a source of pride for my country that we have participated in a concrete way in all the operations launched to date in Somalia, because we have wished fully to shoulder our moral commitments to the United Nations and

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

because we feel that it is our duty, as Arabs, Africans and Muslims, to participate in the international effort to find an effective solution to the crisis of our brother country Somalia. We are certain that, in adopting this draft resolution, the Security Council will carry out its obligations under the United Nations Charter in an appropriate, timely and effective way.

We sincerely hope that all the factional chiefs in Somalia will give priority to their people and to peace and security, and that they will fully cooperate with the United Nations and with the political and humanitarian organizations operating in the country in order to find a lasting solution to this tragedy, because prime responsibility devolves upon the Somalis themselves to achieve their own future well-being.

Ms. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): By adopting this draft resolution, the members of the Security Council will signify that it is time for the United Nations to resume its rightful leadership role in restoring peace to Somalia and in creating conditions for Somalis to choose their own future. We appreciate the vital role of the Secretary-General thus far and look forward to his continued vision and leadership now and in the future.

Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 794 (1992) on 3 December last year, the United States has been pleased to join with more than 30 other United Nations Members in a military mission of mercy unprecedented in size or purpose. Those countries are too numerous to name here, but they came from every region and they gave assistance of every type: infantry, doctors and nurses, engineers, humanitarian workers, police specialists, trucks, aircraft, logistics support of all kinds, use of naval and air bases, and of course generous financial assistance.

(Ms. Albright, United States)

The United States does not want to understate the tasks ahead; as great as the challenges in Somalia have been, those before us are even greater. But it can be fairly said to all the members and supporters of Operation Restore Hope that they have met their calling. Today, hope has returned to Somalia.

It is now time for the United Nations to complete the work begun by the Unified Task Force. By adopting this draft resolution, we will embark on an unprecedented enterprise aimed at nothing less than the restoration of an entire country as a proud, functioning and viable member of the community of nations. This is an historic undertaking. We are excited to join it and we will vigourously support it.

At the same time, we are soberly conscious of the fact that this draft resolution engages the world community to provide the most comprehensive assistance ever given to any country, but to do so with few lessons and no models to guide our path.

Yet we are certain of this: Each element of the programme for Somalia is necessary to its overall success and that country's recuperation. Through his Special Representative, the Secretary-General must oversee the continued cease-fire, disarmament, the maintenance of security, further relief and humanitarian assistance, reconstruction and economic renewal, refugee repatriation, the creation of civilian administration, and especially political reconciliation.

Indeed, by today's action the Security Council will commit the United Nations to what is probably the toughest coordination challenge of its history. It is difficult to overstate the importance of its success or the costs of its failure. Let us commit ourselves to its success.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/25472, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 814 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The question of Somalia has been at the centre of attention for the international community since the end of 1991. In order to stop the war in Somalia, bring to an end the untold sufferings of the Somali people, achieve national reconciliation and restore peace and stability there, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the entire international community have made tireless efforts. At present, though the situation in Somalia has witnessed a degree of relaxation it remains unstable and complicated. We have noted with concern that sporadic armed conflicts are still occurring in Somalia; that a secure environment for humanitarian assistance has yet to be completely established; and that conditions remain miserable for the many disaster-stricken victims.

How to put a genuine and effective end to the crisis in Somalia is an issue that faces the entire international community. China has always held that a political solution to the Somali question should be sought through peaceful means within the framework of the Conference on National Reconciliation under the auspices of the United Nations. At the same time, we also take note of the opinion of the Secretary-General to the effect that while the unique situation of the absence of any effective, functioning government in Somalia has increased the difficulty and complexity of the task of settling the Somali question, delaying such a settlement will undoubtedly affect the peace and stability of the entire region. We are therefore in favour of the United Nations taking strong, exceptional measures in Somalia, in accordance with the Secretary-General's recommendations and at the request of most of the African countries, so as to establish a secure environment for humanitarian assistance and to create conditions for the final settlement of the Somali question.

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

Authorizing UNOSOM II to take enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to implement its mandate has made it the first operation of its kind in the history of United Nations peace-keeping. It is our understanding that this authorization is based on the needs of the unique situation in Somalia and should not constitute a precedent for United Nations peace-keeping operations. At the same time we believe that UNOSOM II should act prudently in carrying out such enforcement action. Once the situation in Somalia improves, UNOSOM II should promptly resume its normal peace-keeping operations.

A genuine settlement of the Somali question relies, in the final analysis, on the Somali people. Only when disputes are resolved through dialogue and consultation and there is national reconciliation can lasting peace and stability in Somalia be achieved. In this respect, we are glad to note that with the efforts of the Secretary-General, the Conference on National Reconciliation in Somalia held in Addis Ababa has made some positive progress despite many difficulties. We sincerely hope that the Somali factions concerned will put the fundamental interests of the Somali people and of regional peace and security first, maintain the momentum of national reconciliation and achieve a political solution to the Somali question at an early date.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): Since the Security Council adopted resolution 794 (1992) and deployed the Unified Task Force on the ground, the situation in Somalia has developed in an encouraging manner. There has been a tangible improvement in the humanitarian situation because of a substantial increase in the assistance provided to those affected and because distribution has improved, and dialogue between Somalis with national reconciliation in view has been begun.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

France welcomes these instances of progress, which have been made possible thanks to an unprecedented mobilization on the part of the international community. France for its part has spared no effort to contribute to the operation, both by providing humanitarian assistance and by sending a contingent of about 1,500 men to Somalia.

Despite the encouraging results I have just mentioned, there is still much to be done. The events of the last few weeks have confirmed, in particular, that satisfactory security conditions have not yet been restored; this has also been noted by the Secretary-General in his report to the Council. The factions still have large quantities of arms at their disposal, and serious incidents are still occurring, such as, for example, the recent resumption of confrontations between factions at Kismayo. We are also concerned about the risk of a deterioration in the situation in the north of the country arising particularly from the Task Force's absence from the area.

In such circumstances, it is essential that UNOSOM II should have the necessary mandate and resources, in the first place in order for it to carry out its mission in a situation that remains unstable, and in the second to take the necessary steps to improve security. This presupposes that disarming the factions is carried out in a resolute manner and that the Task Force is deployed over more and more territory until the whole of Somalia is covered. It is also essential, if the gains already achieved by the Task Force are to be held on to, that the transition from the Task Force to UNOSOM II is carried out cautiously, stage by stage, and taking the situation in each area into as complete account as possible.

The French Government is happy that the resolution the Security Council has just adopted is along the lines of these concerns, and in particular that

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

a substantial part of the provisions of the resolution, in accordance with the Secretary-General's recommendations, fall under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. As it has done up till now, France will continue to contribute actively to United Nations activities for Somalia by continuing to provide humanitarian assistance and by making available to UNOSOM II a military contingent of 1,100 men.

In adopting this resolution, the United Nations is undertaking an operation that is unprecedented both in its scope and in terms of the situation in which it is intervening, which is characterized by the absence of governmental authority and institutions in Somalia. On the subject of the scale of the operation - which is justified by the diversity and difficulty of the tasks to be accomplished - we hope that every possible effort will be made to limit the cost of the Force without harming its effectiveness.

Concerning the second factor that I have just mentioned, the absence of government and institutions, it is up to the international community, and in particular the United Nations to continue to lend all its support to the process of national reconciliation, which alone affords hope for a political reconstruction of the country and a lasting return of peace. In this regard, we welcome the recent meeting of the factions at Addis Ababa and hope that, on the basis of the results that have already been achieved, the dialogue will continue. France reiterates its full support for the efforts the Secretary-General and his Special Representative are making towards this end.

In conclusion, allow me to express the hope that the Somalis will put the interests of their country first by cooperating fully with the actions of the international community, which are aimed at helping them, and by continuing the efforts that have been begun towards national reconciliation. The success of the actions taken by the Security Council depends on their doing so.

Mr. PEDAUYE (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): As this is the first time my delegation has spoken in a formal meeting of the Security Council during your term as President, allow me, Sir, to express to you our great appreciation for the efficiency, professionalism and skill with which you are carrying out your duties. I should also like to express my delegation's gratitude to Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi of Morocco for the very competent manner in which he guided the work of the Council during the month of February.

The report submitted by the Secretary-General on 3 March highlighted the important achievements that have come about thanks to the activities of the Unified Task Force in Somalia. Nevertheless, the deployment of the Force has been limited to the centre and south of the country, it has not been possible to complete the disarmament and the progress that has been made, although significant, is not irreversible, as the Secretary-General himself points out in his report.

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

The exceptional nature of the situation in Somalia, carefully described in the report cited earlier, has made necessary the adoption of equally exceptional measures. As a result, the historic resolution we have just adopted, while undertaking to advocate the recommendations of the Secretary-General and their implementation, establishes the first operation of this nature authorized by the international community and constitutes a decisive step towards trying to put an end to the sufferings of the Somali people and towards facing a crisis which, despite the fact that it is basically of an internal nature, could affect the peace and stability of the entire region. My delegation is very much aware that this operation is without precedent and that its proposed objectives are as laudable as they are ambitious.

The magnitude of the tasks entrusted to the expanded United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) has the objective of breaking the vicious circle that has prevented the effective distribution of humanitarian assistance. The United Nations recognizes that it is impossible to limit itself to ensuring the distribution of humanitarian assistance and that it is also necessary to support the process of reconciliation and national reconstruction in Somalia. Both tasks can only be undertaken feasibly if security is guaranteed throughout the entire territory of Somalia. This is the main mission of UNOSOM II and the reason why United Nations forces will continue to act in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter and will, among other important functions, proceed to disarm the factions and other groups of Somali society.

It is basic for the success of the operation that the transition between the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) and UNOSOM II occur without problems. This transition should be gradual and take place without obstacles or disruptions

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

to avoid the possibility that the heads of the different factions or armed groups might take advantage of the advent of a vacuum in an area over which UNITAF has already established its control. My delegation must therefore highlight the warnings of the Secretary-General concerning the need to respect the flexible nature of this transition process and of the four phases into which it is divided. I also feel it appropriate to recall here the importance of having the Unified Task Force constantly maintain its logistical support to the United Nations operation.

This ambitious project should enjoy - and this is a basic element - the full cooperation of the Somali people, and hence the need, as the resolution points out, to include in the process of national reconciliation the greatest possible number of representatives of the society of that country, including leading figures, professionals, intellectuals, women and so on, and to be careful to work to restore institutions such as a Somali police force around which the national administration can be rebuilt. I should like to express my hope that the Conference on National Reconciliation, which is curently being held in Addis Ababa, can make substantial progress in this direction.

On the other hand, the active participation of specialized bodies, United Nations programmes, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations will be required as well. In any event, perseverance should be a basic element throughout this process, since the state of anarchy described by the Secretary-General in his last report of 3 March makes it quite apparent that the operation will be of long duration and that all sorts of challenges will have to be faced.

As I pointed out at the beginning of this statement, Spain has carefully followed the evolution of the Somali crisis. In so doing, it has contributed

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

as much assistance as it has been able, both through national contributions and through international organizations to which it belongs. In this rgard, I feel it is important to point out that between 1991 and 1992, the European Community and its member States have contributed more than $350 million in assistance to Somalia, and that the bodies of European political cooperation have issued statements supporting the efforts made by the international community and the United Nations to contribute to the solution of the Somalia conflict.

Spain believes that the resolution we have just approved and the implementation of UNOSOM II will make possible the restoration of peace and security in Somalia and put an end to the humanitarian disaster afflicting this country. I should like for all these reasons to express my Government's gratitude to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for the vision and the courage which they have demonstrated and to assure them that they have our support in working to carry out the arduous tasks they still must face.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): By unanimously adopting today's resolution, the Security Council is taking a further important step in addressing the complex and unique situation that still prevails in Somalia.

The fundamental reason why the United Nations is being called to play a more robust role in Somalia is the temporary non-existence of a government in that Member State, as national and regional Somali institutions and civil administration have virtually collapsed.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

The complex and wide-ranging mandate contained in the resolution we have adopted is, therefore, a necessary and appropriate step taken by the Security Council with a view to restoring normalcy in Somalia at an early date.

The delegation of Brazil welcomes the progress achieved at the Conference on National Reconciliation for Somalia and hopes that the process of political settlement and national reconciliation will be successfully achieved with the active and broad participation of all sectors of Somali society.

While recognizing that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and for the reconstruction of their country, the delegation of Brazil welcomes the willingness expressed by Governments at the Third United Nations Coordination Meeting for Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia to contribute to relief and rehabilitation efforts in that country.

We commend the cooperation of regional and other organizations such as the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement with the efforts of the United Nations, as well as the invaluable assistance that is being provided by neighbouring countries to promote the process of national reconciliation in Somalia and to alleviate the plight of the Somali people.

We also express our appreciation for the significant role played by the Unified Task Force with a view to the establishment of a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia. The convergent and coordinated efforts of all those organizations with the United Nations in an operation of unprecedented scale underscores the possibilities for constructive partnership and task-sharing that may exist when the international community is ready to display solidarity and political commitment.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

The delegation of Brazil once again pays tribute to the selfless dedication of the personnel of the United Nations and other organizations endeavouring to provide humanitarian assistance to the Somali population.

It is our hope that all sectors of Somali society will intensify their efforts towards the successful conclusion of the process of national reconciliation. We are convinced that the international community will not fail to continue to give its full support to the achievement of that goal.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): Let me begin, Sir, by placing on record my delegation's profound appreciation of the skill, the supreme efficiency and the sagacity with which you have been discharging your duties as President for the current month in innings characterized by a judicious blend of initiative and patience.

I would also wish to express my delegation's admiration for the competence and wisdom which my brother, Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi, displayed during his tenure as President in the previous month. Our only regret is that last month had only 28 days.

My delegation welcomed, and we deeply appreciate, the Secretary-General's comprehensive report of 3 March 1993 on Somalia, submitted in pursuance of Security Council resolution 794 (1992). It is obvious that a great deal of effort and constructive thinking has gone into the preparation of the report. We look forward to the Secretary-General's continuing initiative and leadership in the implementation process.

Despite competing demands on its limited resources, the Government of Pakistan has actively and materially supported United Nations efforts in Somalia, as demonstrated by our participation in the initial United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I). We hope to continue that cooperation and even to increase our commitment.

The important, indeed crucial, role played by the United States contingent and the United Task Force (UNITAF) in restoring a semblance of normality in Somalia deserves the gratitude and approbation of the entire international community. Without their effort, we would not have reached the stage where we could have adopted today's resolution.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

My delegation also commends the commitment shown and the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his team of dedicated officials, by the various multilateral agencies, by United Nations bodies and by non-governmental organizations; all of them, despite very daunting odds, have provided relief and succour to the suffering Somali people and have helped ameliorate the situation in Somalia.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to the peoples and the Governments of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya, which have faced with fortitude and courage the problems created for them and the burdens imposed on them by the internal strife in Somalia. Indeed, without Ethiopia's active assistance the reconciliation process under way in Addis Ababa would not have been possible.

The role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement also deserves recognition.

The main causes of the tragic situation the Somali people have endured over the last two years are to be found in the internal politics of Somalia. It is nevertheless true that the introduction of modern weapons from outside and their wanton use served to give an internal struggle for power the dimensions of a catastrophe. Thus, besides progress in the reconciliation process, the measures that need to be pursued with equal determination and singlemindedness include the securing of weapons, particularly heavy weapons, under United Nations control, the de-mining of all regions, the earliest possible rehabilitation of displaced persons and the rebuilding of the Somali infrastructure and economy.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

It is therefore crucial that UNOSOM II and the Secretary-General be provided with a wide enough and a flexible enough mandate to achieve what they are being asked to deliver. In this context, my delegation awaits a positive outcome of the Conference on National Reconciliation in Somalia, which began in Addis Ababa on 15 March. We were concerned at the brief suspension of the Conference; however, its resumption was reassuring. It is our earnest hope that the Conference will set in motion an irreversible process towards the establishment of a democratic order in Somalia. We applaud the wise decision of the Secretary-General to widen participation in the Conference by inviting representatives of various sectors of Somali civil society. We wish this process every success.

My delegation regards today's resolution on Somalia as a historic document, because it engages the United Nations in a broad range of activities. It is a positive response by the United Nations to a series of challenges which now face the international community. Success in its implementation is therefore a matter of the utmost importance to all of us.

Pakistan will play a positive role in the process of implementation and remains deeply committed to the objectives of the resolution in both letter and spirit.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Pakistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): When last December the Council adopted resolution 794 (1992), which defined resolute and innovative action to put an end to the suffering of the Somali people, my delegation noted that it was highly important for international action in

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

Somalia to go beyond achieving the immediate objective of providing humanitarian assistance to the civilian population. We stressed that parallel action was necessary to create conditions not only for the survival of the Somali people but also for national reconciliation and the political and economic renewal and reconstruction of Somalia.

We therefore welcome the adoption of Security Council resolution 814 (1993), which is intended to ensure the prompt, phased transition from the United Task Force (UNITAF) to the expanded United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II).

We are, of course, aware of the dimensions of the challenges that will face the United Nations when UNOSOM II begins its operations. To meet that challenge, we must ensure that UNOSOM II is fully able to carry out its mandate, which includes taking the steps necessary to create a climate of security, and to establish stability and public order in Somalia. In line with present requirements, this also includes assistance from the international community to Somalia, through UNOSOM II, to get the country back on its feet and to rebuild its institutional structures.

That grand design should extend to the entire country, both North and South; it can be achieved only through a process of national reconciliation among the Somalis combined with large-scale sustained efforts by the international community.

Since the international community is ready and willing to help the Somali people, through UNOSOM II, the Somalis themselves must take charge of their future with a heightened sense of responsibility and must build a civil

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

society in Somalia, something that is cruelly lacking at present. We therefore attach the highest importance to the Addis Ababa conferences and hope they will result in the establishment of an effective democratic system in Somalia.

We believe that cooperation between the United Nations and the Unified Task Force countries has been exemplary. We expect that the transfer to UNOSOM II, though it will be far from simple, will similarly be carried out in a satisfactory manner and without a loss of momentum. In that connection, I note that it was thanks to the praiseworthy initiative of the United States of America - to which we are grateful - that it now has become possible for UNOSOM to resume its responsibilities.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

In our opinion, there can be no doubt that the United Nations operation in Somalia, of which a new chapter is opening with the adoption of resolution 814 (1993), is implemented only on the basis of Chapter VII of the Charter. It is clear that the success of this endeavour will inspire the United Nations in charting its course with regard to other conflicts tearing our world apart.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): My Government wishes to pay tribute to the countries contributing troops to the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) to carry out its mandate in a difficult environment. UNITAF has achieved great progress in establishing a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia. While we in the Security Council should continue efforts to maintain and improve the environment for relief, I believe Somalia's need will be shifting to national reconstruction - political, social and economic.

My delegation welcomes the results of the United Nations conference on humanitarian assistance for Somalia to review the relief and rehabilitation programme. In our view, the conference was useful in providing an important framework, not only for relief assistance, but also for putting Somalia back on the track to economic recovery.

Japan was pleased to contribute $100 million to the Trust Fund for Somalia to support UNITAF operations. It has also extended $20 million for humanitarian assistance in Somalia. Japan will continue to explore, in close coordination with the United Nations, how it might best support the Somali people in their efforts for national reconstruction. In this connection, it is my delegation's view that the importance of job-creation efforts, such as vocational training programmes, as mentioned in the Secretary-General's report, should be stressed.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Lasting peace and security and genuine reconstruction will not be possible without a broad political settlement. My Government urges the parties, movements and factions in Somalia to abide by the agreements which they themselves concluded in Addis Ababa in January. The future of Somalia is not in the hands of the United Nations or of UNITAF or UNISOM I or UNISOM II, but is in the hands of the people of Somalia.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): Let me at the outset, Sir, congratulate you on your splendid job in the presidency, which already seems a rather longer month than its allotted span of 31 days. I also take this opportunity to join many others in warmly congratulating Ambassador Snoussi on the magnificent job he did in the presidency last month.

The hour is fairly late. Others have been very eloquent about the situation in Somalia, and I have no wish to go over ground that they have covered so ably. I should simply like to make a few points.

First and foremost, a word of thanks is due to the United States and to all others that have contributed to the united Force, and without whose efforts and groundwork I doubt that we should be adopting the resolution on the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNISOM II) today.

Secondly, I think the great merit of the resolution we have just adopted is its mixture of firmness and sensitivity - firmness in the sense that UNISOM II will be endowed with a robust Chapter VII mandate. We believe that to be necessary. The process of disarming must continue, as the Secretary-General has pointed out. It is also important that UNISOM II will operate throughout the territory of Somalia. As others will know, my delegation attaches great importance to that point.

(Mr. Richardson, United Kingdom)

In mentioning sensitivity I have in mind particularly the Secretary-General's invaluable work in promoting the task of political reconciliation. Like others, I want to pay him a warm tribute for the conferences that have been organized in Addis Ababa and for handling them so carefully and sensitively.

I think we all recognize, as indeed the report of the Secretary-General does, how difficult the task of political reconciliation will be and how much we shall need to build upwards from the grassroots. I think things are going in the right direction, and I pay tribute again to the efforts of all those involved in the United Nations so far.

The resolution rightly underlines the contributions that must be made by the humanitarian organizations in Somalia. Like others, I pay tribute to all the United Nations agencies, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, which are operating in a difficult and still, unfortunately, dangerous environment. I think it will be important in the future to achieve an ever closer coordination of the humanitarian effort in Somalia, and I am pleased that efforts are being made in that direction.

My own Government has been a major contributor to the relief effort, both nationally, and, as my Spanish colleague mentioned, within the framework of the European Community.

Finally, the unity of the Security Council in adopting what others have rightly called a historic resolution is itself an important factor, and I hope a decisive factor. We shall need to maintain this unity of action in what are bound to be difficult times ahead as the operations of UNISOM II unfold.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation): The Russian delegation joins in the expression of warm words to you, Mr. President, in connection with your excellent guidance of our Council's meetings. We also congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Snoussi, on his excellent work last month as President.

The Russian Federation supports the efforts of the United Nations to ensure safe conditions for emergency humanitarian assistance to the Somali people, to stabilize the situation and to achieve a political settlement and national reconciliation in Somalia. We voted for the resolution adopted by the Security Council on transferring functions from the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNISOM II), based on the fact that the mandate of the United Nations Operation focuses on ensuring safe conditions for the supply of emergency humanitarian assistance, inter alia, by disarming the Somali armed formations. We feel that in so doing it is necessary to ensure a stage-by-stage, fluid transition of the UNITAF operation to UNISOM II. It is also important that the beginning of the Operation and its implementation be closely linked to the efforts to achieve a long-term political settlement in Somalia.

In this connection, we hope that the results of the Conference on National Reconciliation held in Addis Ababa will have a significant, positive impact on the swift implementation of the tasks facing the United Nations Operation.

We attach great importance to strengthening the embargo established by the Security Council on arms supplies to Somalia, and we consider it important that all States strictly carry out this decision of the Security Council.

The Russian delegation attaches great importance to the need for sensible expenditures of funds. In this regard, we note the Secretary-General's intention to support the United Nations presence in Somalia at a minimal level.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

The financial implications of this Operation should be carefully considered by experts in the appropriate budgetary bodies of the United Nations to ensure economically effective use of the significant allocated funds.

Taking into account the unprecedented nature of the Operation, it is necessary that the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, report regularly to the members of the Council on measures relating to the period of transition from UNITAF to UNISOM II and the deployment of the Operation itself.

The Russian Federation is ready, together with other members of the international community, actively to promote the effective implementation of the tasks facing this important United Nations Operation in Somalia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind remarks addressed to me.

I should now like to make a brief statement in my capacity as representative of New Zealand.

New Zealand applauds the efforts of the Unified Task Force and the contributions which individual countries of the United Nations have made to the operation in Somalia. We draw satisfaction, too, from the fact that New Zealand has participated in this effort. We acknowledge the lead which has been given to the Unified Task Force operation by the Government of the United States.

It is clear, however, that the situation in Somalia remains extremely volatile. Recent tragic events have shown that the progress which has been made cannot yet be understood as irreversible.

In this context, New Zealand fully supports the resolution that we have just adopted. It is a significant decision, and it marks a further step by the United Nations towards defining a new era in international peace-keeping operations.

We believe the resolution accurately describes the situation in Somalia and correctly identifies the priority tasks for the new United Nations operations in that country.

In New Zealand's view, a first priority is to complete the process of disarming started by the Unified Task Force. This cannot be stressed too highly. Progress towards political reconciliation and economic recovery in Somalia depends upon the creation of sustainable peace and security. New Zealand supports, therefore, the particular emphasis in the resolution on disarming, and we believe it is important, as an initial step, to define now the parties that are to be disarmed.

(The President)

Equally important, of course, is the continuation of the humanitarian relief that has been the principal motivation for United Nations involvement in Somalia. The effectiveness of the United Nations efforts in this regard will be enhanced, in our view, through close cooperation and coordination with non-governmental organizations, as is called for in the resolution that we have just adopted.

New Zealand takes this opportunity to acknowledge and give credit to the role of the many non-governmental organizations that have since the earliest days of Somalia's crisis shown their willingness to help the people and to continue to assist through the most difficult times, working often in precarious circumstances.

Recovery in Somalia depends upon the reconstruction of effective political institutions at the local, regional and national levels and on the establishment of democratic processes. It also depends upon ensuring protection for the human rights of the people in that country. United Nations efforts to assist in these areas is of the highest priority and will require a sustained involvement on the part of this Organization.

The United Nations must be prepared to see through its commitment in Somalia.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seised of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.